

- 538 /27 cont./ related that I Maipa was the daughter of the Sultan of Sumbawa. As such, however, she was of nobler blood than Datu Museng, and their marriage was thus likewise a forbidden tie. Matthes, Makassaarsche Chrestomathie /Makassarese Chrestomathy/, 1883: "Aanteekeningen," p. 88.
- [113]

singers (pakeso'keso') (3).

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3. A singer who accompanies himself on a two-stringed violin (keso'keso').

593 In daily life the brother is, in the very first instance, the protector of his sister as a young girl. He is for her the "strong wall," as the verse says (4). He likes to accompany

4. See Chapter III, p. 297.

her and the older women when they pay visits to kinsmen living elsewhere. He is the one who reacts first in case she is siri'; this is as much as to say that he immediately starts the pursuit and stabs if she should want to flee. He carries her as a bride out of the back rooms where she was dressed to the bridal bed in the front room. He is proud of her and of the fact that he may protect her.

• [585]

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The /nuclear/ family is clearly reflected in the kinship terminology (see list). It is apparent that only the members of the /nuclear/ family are indicated by individual terms and that for the rest the terminology makes distinctions only between generations. The distinctions made in ego's own generation,

557 /83 cont. / A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal
qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one
of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded
as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes
apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen
in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it
were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation
of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment.
His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing
of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle,
his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
• [585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most
valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group.

More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the
elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of
relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution;
they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their
collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this,
a certain marriage policy is apparent.

557 In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
581 tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists
612 the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members
marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand,
there is the striving to establish relations with members of other
groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher.
A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to
realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time,
/84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those
who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards
their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first -
mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend,
rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

584 /85 cont. /
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1. At one count, he arrived
at 18, not counting the
marriages of his own children.

In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person [554] receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

554 3. From this example it appears further that the general
602 notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
582 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent
man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among
his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his
group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency
toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the
related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great
differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is re-
garded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
● 585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

554 /86 cont. / he has built up in his life. The more days and
585 nights the festival lasts, the more guests (largely kinsmen)
present, the more buffaloes slaughtered, and the more spacious
the pannjambungi (the extension built onto the front of the
house for this occasion), the higher is his standing. But the
[583] bride price, sunrang, is the element of marriage which permits
the clearest measurable evaluation.

583 The sunrang is not simply handed over to the wife's kin
group by the man and his kin group. It is present at the con-
tracting of the marriage (nikka'). The marriage official
records the amount in the marriage register in reals (1), an.

[435]

1. A real was, and still is,
valued at 2 guildens. The
coin itself, the real, is not
seen at these payments.
It became too rare for that.

old species of coin which has long disappeared from /87/
circulation. The woman's kin group frequently demands that
the sunrang be paid entirely in specie (rix-dollars or guildens),
but usually this happens only in part. The balance is paid by
giving a sawah or a buffalo. As a symbol of such a transaction,
a handful of earth (from the sawah) or a nose ring (of the
[415] buffalo) is added to the specie, which is contained in a flat,
round copper box (kampu), used only at a marriage. The
kampu also contains various kinds of leaves and a piece of wood,
whose names signify "high," "rich," "rising," and "expanding."
That is what one wishes for the sunrang and, at the same time,
for the woman's group of relatives, the best possible wish.

[659] The sunrang cannot be just any amount; it is always an
even figure. It is fixed by the local authorities, in this case,
the Self-government of Goa. In part it is linked to a specific
status (ordinary people), in part to a certain function (the adat

554/95 cont. / were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as
qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher
woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult,
I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract
marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained
in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case
of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married
one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man
was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many
cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to
personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a
young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a
tax official and very influential at the same time, who
married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The
sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
[583] been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
585 large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses
of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli
tjera').

554 In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
581 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
582 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where
these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage
are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs
children in the reading
of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one,
of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong
head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of
the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the
Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower
than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
● 585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
674 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably
higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the
groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen
of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said,
that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly
come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might
be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will
receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not
show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely.
She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be
a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that
would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For
daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter,
because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a
fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to
them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain
right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best
ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come
to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners
of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later
have a chance of a better marriage, something which again
works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 /101 cont. / thought of as ridiculous by the related group.
565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing
[576] himself from those around him.

• [585] The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a
572 kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-
groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a
higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person
to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong
to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower
person.

[626] A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated
as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as
arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around
her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so
doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can
be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody,
however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all,
it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right
thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would
be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the
investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he
does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these
modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects
of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described
as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person
(kara'ng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na
(1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

177 /134 cont. / goalkeeper of the karaeng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaeng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaeng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team
took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again
only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he,
and not the karaeng who was the loser in this collision. It is
understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward
soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of
courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams,
high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball
braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in
a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive"
in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is
transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a
young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that
he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone
who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaeng
can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the
success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and
those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy
leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage
into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting
prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable
character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
589 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

[582] To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one
could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary
argument to explain the fact that a large number of women
remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also
used as an "explanation"
for the existence of
marriage by flight. It is
safer to assume that in
times like those after 1929,
the number of marriages
by flight increased some-
what through a gradual
adjustment toward new
relationships with regard
to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance,
cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a
marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive
costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts,
and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does
not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the
feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
previous one.

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583 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
● 585 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
same amount as a number of years before. The members of

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/162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

595 /168 cont./ In view of the fact that according to Moslem law the conclusion of a second marriage is just as simple as the first, there must be other reasons why so few polygamous men were registered in this region. Such a reason is, in the first place, the opposition of the first wife.

[581]
[558] One of the worst things that can happen to a woman is that her husband takes a second wife. One of the wishes for a newly married couple is the hope that they will grow old together. It was said of a childless old couple who had been together all their lives that this was proof that they were happy together, and it was regarded as a cause for rejoicing and an example for the younger generation. In the "little games" [585] /169/ that take place during the wedding festival, the woman must win. This reflects the wish that later she [593] will also have the upper hand in her relationship with her husband. And in answer to the question what this referred to mostly, it was stated that one thought of the provision of the necessities for daily meals and the taking of a second wife.

The reaction of the first wife is very violent. She declared that she would rather be cast out than suffer a co-wife (maru) by her side. She leaves the house without the knowledge of her husband -- which under normal circumstances would weigh heavily against her -- and returns to her parents, preferably with her children. In such a case there is no intention of leaving the man permanently. A statement by one of these women leaves no room for doubt about that. When she heard that her husband had contracted a second marriage, she did not leave for the distant kampong of her parents until she had made the vow: "If I come back here, I shall sacrifice a hen to you (ancestors)." In such a case it is possible for the woman to return only if her husband comes to implore her to do so. Her desire to come back prevailed. Sometimes, especially if the second marriage comes about [586] through silariang, her negative attitude is successful. In one case the man went to visit his second wife less and less. The

582 /173 cont./ those whom they permit to marry. Naturally, they cannot draw a sharp line of distinction between those whom they do permit to marry, and those they do not;

[587] Several factors are influential in determining the number of individuals who, in a certain group, finally remain unmarried. In each group there are a number of individuals who declare that they do not wish to marry, and their motives in doing so are not always clear, nor do the older people always take this wish into consideration.

593 On account of this, it is understandable that a marriage contract in itself does not yet signify that the newlyweds will now also be able to find their way toward a normal married life.

[833] In a number of cases one of the marriage partners "does not want" the other. It is said of them that they are "not good" together. This means that one of them refuses sexual union.

• 585 The central point of the wedding feast toward which all aspirations and the interests of all are directed is the successful union of man and wife. The purpose is that a marriage should [581] be lasting and fruitful, that is to say, that it should last until the death of one of the partners, and that it should be blessed with many children and goods.

[586] In the discussion of a number of "divorces," it will become apparent that if the partners have had sexual intercourse only once, the marriage may in effect be called lasting. For 581 833 a number of individuals, however, it seems difficult to enter into sexual contact with their partner. I would like to discover the cause of this difficulty in the personality structure.

[155] With respect to men, we could point to the anxiety of being inadequate toward their partner. The rivalry with those [156] of his own sex, to which we have already pointed above, and the performance of great sexual feats are both expressions of personal qualities highly prized in a man and always occurring in combination.

833 /173 cont./ The characteristics of being not good, if the not wanting emanates from the woman, are the same as when the man is the one who /174/ refuses sexual intercourse. The two women whom I was able to observe, however, lead me to suggest that the reason for their refusal is the idea that they regard themselves as too good for their husbands.

The Makassarese attitude with respect to these phenomena is different.

585 An informant named the "tete" as, in his opinion, one of the most important aspects of the wedding feast. Tete literally means "bridge." The bringing together of man and wife is regarded as a period of temporary uncertainty, and it is hoped that from this a state of lasting security will arise. Ritual is performed because it is believed that it promotes the coveted cessation of insecurity. There is always a positive and a negative aspect present. This finds expression, among other things, in the names of leaves and wood types used in the ritual. Some of these have the meaning of "becoming larger," "increasing," while others mean "fending off" and "holding back."

833 We have already mentioned that the environment accepts a kawe kawé as he is. One does not have the idea that it is his fault that he is the way he is. Similarly, it is accepted of a man or woman that he (she) does not want to be "good" with his (her) marriage partner.

833 It is believed possible that the one who refuses sexual
789 contact has been affected by a spell /sprenk/. But people can never say with certainty who it was that spoke it at best; it is only possible to suspect people of it. One proceeds from an interest that this person is believed to have in seeing the marriage fail, and one combines this with conduct observed in him or her of which it is stated that it deviates from the customary and therefore might have a special (in this case, bad) significance.

833 /174 cont./ Such a person is kept isolated from attempts
789 which are applied to make the marriage a success nonetheless.
683 In view of the fact, however, that one can never be sure that
a certain individual has not uttered a spell against the prosper-
ing of the marriage partners, one never hears of stronger re-
actions, such as the meting out of punishment.

833 Even though it is accepted of a man or woman that he
832 (she) does not want to have any sexual intercourse with his
(her) spouse; one does not simply rest satisfied with this
situation. After the actual wedding feast is /175/ over, one
searches for ritual in order even yet to bring about the desired
result.

In addition to many well-known and easily observable
traits, the ritual generally has details which differ with every
individual who performs it. These details need not be
apparent. What makes the ritual a success in a certain case
may be present precisely in the nonobservable details. It is
never possible to know beforehand which detail it is that will
bring success.

Different people accordingly test their powers in a case
where the marriage partners are not good together. The ex-
Imam of Borongloë was successful a number of times, after
others had failed, when a few years after the marriage was
concluded, he repeated the Moslem rite. This is called
"marrying anew" (*nikka' poleang*). This ritual was unknown
in a number of regions in South Celebes. Personal initiative
in clearly observable ritual matters is to be found here.

585 The wedding festival consists of a multiple ritual of which
the subordinate elements are performed over a period of time
from 3 to 14 days and in a more or less fixed sequence.

Several actions that are forbidden in everyday life are
here performed for the first time, surrounded as they are by
ritual. As such we should mention the first touch of the
woman by the man, the first meal together, being bathed
together, and wearing a single sarong together. The older

- 585 /175 cont./ people attach great significance to the way in which these actions are performed by the young people, because they believe that they can discover from them the person's inclination toward the marriage partner, and upon this in turn they base the further (ritual) measures that must be taken, all of which are geared finally to the "good" union of man and wife.

In addition, little games take place during the festival, in the form of small contests between bride and bridegroom. At the same time, care is always taken that the woman wins. It is said that this is an expression of the wish that later in daily life the wife will be the boss in the house, because a couple is then regarded as happiest (1).

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1. The relationship between man and wife in marriage is aptly characterized by saying that the wife stands on the index finger of the man (bainea ammentengi ri pandjodjona buranea), that is to say, that the wife must do what the man says. In actuality this idea is put into practice only with respect to certain points, for instance, where the siri' feelings play a part. A married man must therefore decide whether a sister or a sister-in-law living in the house with him may go to a festival, whether she may still go to school, and so forth. He may turn away a marriage request. In such matters he has his way. Thereby he feels responsible

562 /175 cont./
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buy clothes, then the latter acts according to her own wishes. At such times the man becomes angry, but he soon comes to accept the situation with the sigh that, after all, these are only unimportant matters. Questions involving siri are, in his opinion, ultimately the important points, and accordingly he makes sure that these continue to be under his jurisdiction.

585 /176/ No two wedding festivals are alike. The respective
184 groups of relatives each have their peculiarities which find expression in details of the ritual. Within one and the same related group, each of the leading personalities leave their stamp both upon the organization of the entire festival, as well as upon the execution of the individual rituals. They show thereby that they can not only follow existing rituals, but also that they can add new rituals to these already existing.

Whoever has gone through several wedding festivals will have been struck by the great differences between them, as well as by the many traits they have in common. In the description that follows here of a number of subelements of the wedding ritual, I have followed, in the main, the notes that I took down at a single festival. In this case I am not striving for completeness. Otherwise the ritual would have had to be described much more fully. Behind each detail there again loom new ones.

/177 cont./

Water Sprinkling (appasili)

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Appasili (1) is the name of the ritual in which water is

1. See B. F. Matthes,
Woordenboek, p. 597.

sprinkled over the object of the ritual, a thing or a person, by means of a number of leafy twigs which have been tied together. It is done at various moments of the wedding festival. Thus, water is sprinkled on the vessels that will be used during the festive meals and during the /178/ setting up of the chief pole of the pannjambungi (1). It occurs also at preparations that

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1: The pannjambungi is the extension which is built onto the front part of the actual house on the occasion of a wedding festival. During this time it serves as the men's quarters and as a place where the male guests are received. At such a time the house proper, including the front room (kale balla'), is reserved for the women. I hope to be able to describe this part of the house in greater detail later. W. H. Rassers has already repeatedly pointed out the great interest attaching to this part, the last time in his study, "Inleiding tot de bestudeering van de Javaansche kris /Introduction to a Study of the Javanese Kris/, "
Mededeeling der Kon/inklijke/
Ned/erlandsche/ Akad/emie/

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585 /178 cont. / van Wetenschappen,
788 Afd/eeling/ Letterkunde,
[117] N/ieuwe/ R/eeks/
/New Series/, Vol. I,
no. 8, pp. 52 ff.

precede the dressing of bride and groom when they are still in the houses of their respective parents, and it takes place when they are bathed together for the first time.

585 The person who performs this ritual is frequently the
[543] "bride's mother," (anrong bunting) (2). The special appasili

[602
838] 2. The "bride's mother"
may also be a man. In
that case he helps the
bridegroom. Kawe kawe
likewise perform this job.

[342] at the construction of the chief pole of the pannjambungi is performed, however, by the person who is charged with its erection, a man who is an expert at housebuilding (panrita balla). The appasili of the vessels is usually performed by one of the prominent older women.

585 The bottle of leafy twigs consists preferably of seven
824 different kinds. These are usually the same kinds, but some-
[801] times variations are introduced. The names of the leaves of one particular bundle were: 1. buagang, 2. palidi, 3. parempasa, 4. loē, 5. leko sirih, 6. riu, 7. pattene.
The first four names all indicate defense (1), the last two have

585 1. These names are rapidly
824 recited, one after the other,
789 when they are used as a spell.
They are also reported thus by
Matthes. Compare B. F.
Matthes, Woordenboek, p. 223:

585 /178 cont. /

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"The medicinal plants bowagang palili, parempasa, and lowe are all able to defend against evil." Palili means: "cause to get out of the way" (Ibid., p. 223) Parempa means: "to ward off" (Ibid., p. 122). Of "lowe," Matthes states that it is an old name for the "nagasari," a shrub that was also used for fences (Ibid., p. 373). The word buagang has the same meaning. When a kampong head, after a theft, turned to someone with the words, "If the thief is found in your house, you yourself will also be punished," the reaction was: "buagang," that is to say, "May that misfortune not overcome me."

[672]

the meaning of "gay" and "sweet" respectively.

585 The water used for sprinkling comes from a pot. In the pot it has already undergone ritual treatment. At the bottom of the pot there lie some money, a number of betel leaves folded in a special way (kalompang), and an appropriate number of pieces of areca nut. This water has been made pure (badji, literally, "good"). The burning /179/ incense vessel (padupaang) has been moved around it, puffed rice (bente) has been scattered over it, and a spell has been uttered during the ceremony. The object of the ritual is now sprinkled with this "good water" while a spell is uttered again.

[824]

/179 cont./

585 Steaming
783

[801] Steaming (barumbung) is a ritual which prepares bride and groom for their future union. At that time they are still each in his own house. Under the house a pot with water is placed on the fire, and seven different kinds of leaves are placed in it. The steam is conducted upward through a hollow bamboo pipe toward a hole in the floor in the hindmost part of the house. The bride (or the bridegroom) is seated above this hole, completely wrapped in a sarong. The bride's mother scatters puffed rice over her and moves the incense vessel around her, three times one way and once the other. While doing so, she mumbles a spell. When the bride has sat in this way for some time and has perspired profusely, she is bathed. This is repeated for three days on end. It is believed that in this way even the evil that is deep within her will come out with the sweat so that only the good will remain. It is hoped that thus she will be able to face the coming period of uncertainty in the best possible condition.

Plucking the Eyebrows

302 The plucking of eyebrows (bubu') is likewise done before
585 the couple is brought together. On this occasion the bride's mother removes the hairs which would make the eyebrow "not good." It is believed that a person's character is revealed in
826 his glance, and also by the features around his eye. In view of
828 the fact that even an exchange of words between young men
[834] and women is prohibited, the casting of glances is practically the only thing that can be done with impunity. The slight arching of an eyebrow and lowering of the eyelids have their significance. To be greedy of eye (balala matana) is regarded
585 as an inferior quality of a young man. In this ritual the im-
826 portance of the eye and the play of the eyes accordingly finds
832

585 /179 cont./ expression. At the moment, so important for the
826 individual, when he meets his marriage partner, "the eye and
832 its environment" must be as good as possible, as one informant
expressed it. /180/

585 Awaiting the Karuntigi Leaves

Awaiting the karuntigi leaves (amatamata karuntigi) (1) is,

1. B. F. Matthes,
Woordenboek, p. 246.

in the first place, regarded as an important social event. On
this occasion the bride (and likewise the bridegroom, each in
his own house) sits on the wedding bed. It is the eve of the
Moslem wedding. Many guests are present. Next to the bride
a sister or cousin, as well as the bride's mother and a number of
other older women are seated. All of them are in festive dress.
They help the bride, fan her with cool air, move a hand, place
a leg differently, or change the position of her head, so that
she will not get any cramps in these parts of her body. For a
bride must remain seated passively, completely immobile, and
[534] with downcast eyes. The incense vessels burn, the drums are
533 beaten, and rojong songs are hummed. Before her stand a
number of little bowls. One of these contains the finely cut
leaves of the karuntigi (2), a second contains oil, a third powder,

[824]

[822]

2. The leaves, it is always
stated, are of a reddish color.
Red is the color of fire and
life. Personally, I have never
been able to observe anything
but an ordinary green color.
The leaves are chewed before-
hand.

and a fourth water.

- 585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a number of older ones who themselves have many children and many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion, want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social standing of the host.

- [177] In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi," the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --, amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives, for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown. Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed.
- [178] This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking, were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the
585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

126 /181 cont. / latter here followed the system suggested by
 585 Professor A. A. Cense. In the translation, I tried to transpose
 the frequently figurative text into as good Dutch as was possible.
 It was not my intention to take strict responsibility for the
 translation.

585
 539

Pakkio' bunting

Address to welcome the
 bridegroom

1. iadende', iadende', Happily, happily,
2. nia' todjemmindjo
mae there now finally comes
3. bunting salloa kutajang, the bridegroom whom I
have been expecting
for such a long time,
4. salloa kuminasai. for whose arrival I have been
hoping for such a long time.
5. Nampako riudjung
borikku, riappa' Now that you have come to
pa'rasanganku, the outermost point, to the
border of my land,
6. nakurappoiko tjini', kutim- I give you my best wishes
barangiko pangngai. and my love.
7. Nampako kuasseng nia', na- Now I know that you are there,
kuitungko labattu, that you have really arrived,
8. kunragi memang I am preparing four-colored
berasa' ri- mangko' kebo', rice in a white bowl, /182/
9. kummatta memang rappo- then I will hack a betel nut
bau' ripalakku, into little pieces on the
palm of my hand,
10. kunnanro memang kalom- and I will place a folded
ping ritalang bulaeng; betel leaf on a golden bowl;
11. kutongko intang, kubelo- and I will cover all this with
belo djamarro'; jewels and adorn it with
emeralds;
12. intang matjora glittering diamonds shine upon
massingarri dallekannu, your face,

585 /182 cont. /
539

- | | |
|---|---|
| 13. bulaëng ti'no' assuloi pat-tjini'nu. | pure gold illuminates your visage. |
| 14. Lakukapeangko 'anne sumanga'nu mabellaja, | I will wave to your soul which is far away, to turn around, |
| 15. lakukiokangko pole tubunu 'lampa salaja. | I will call back for you your body, which is wandering around aimlessly. |
| 16. Badji' kuallekonne bunga-bunga tamalate; | I draw you toward myself like a flower which will never wilt. |
| 17. late bunga, tamalate tjini-kannu. | A flower wilts, but one can never get enough of looking at you. |
| 18. Kutannangkonne tope talakka' riaja'; | I shall make you into a sarong that will always be warm. |
| 19. lakka' tope tamalakkakko ikau. | A sarong may become loose, but you stay. |
| 20. Sangkontu sanrapammamako bulang sampuloa ngngappa', | You are like the full moon, |
| 21. nasusung pale, natinriang wari-wari; | with the evening star by its side which at the same time is accompanied by the morning star; /183/ |
| 22. wari-wari kapapasang pale mannuntunga bangngi. | a morning star which shines through to day break, and an evening star that continues to glitter throughout the night (1). |

1. Thus something special,
something that has never
before been seen.

/183 cont. /

- 585 23. Nisailenu kau, One looks at you, one never
539 tamalladjunu nitjini' gets enough of looking at you.
ma'mole-mole.
24. Kukio' Daëndjakondjo, I call you a man of the
kukanro ana' karaëng. nobility and honor you as a
prince.
25. Nutuli manai'mo maë Come enter the house of your
riballa'na matoannu, parents-in-law, along the
rituka'na ipara'nu, steps of your brothers-in-
law and your sisters-in-law,
26. matoang tuna, ipara' your lowly parents-in-law and
kamasemase; your pitiable brothers-in-
law and sisters-in-law;
27. mangngondjottommakonne go along the ladder with the
tuka' tallu anronna, three uprights and the forty
patampulo baringanna; rungs (2);

[554]

2. These and the following
references point to the fact
that here one is in the house
of a very prominent man.

28. mandjapputtongko pole hold on tight to the banister
tjottjorang nita'-buta'bu; of the ladder, which is
divided into joints like
sugar cane;
29. nutuli manai'; climb steadily upward;
30. mannjorong pakke'bu push against the door which
nigiring-giring; is provided with little
copper bells;
31. mangngondjot tongko step onto the floor boards
dasere' nidjaling kawa', which are tied to the
nia'lanro bassi kalling; transverse boards by means
of wire;

/183 cont. /

585 32. mateteongko pallangga
539 nibatang rappo;

33. mannosotongko
padongko' nitau-tau

34. nutulimo kalau',
rawanganna timbaonu,
ammempo ribenteng
polonnu.

35. A'lapara' tappere'
bo'dong;

36. andjo'djo kari kanang;

37. mansuro-sturo rapannu,
mampattudju sangkammannu.

38. Naremba-rembako pole
ana' rara patampulo;

39. nisarimanangko pole
lonrong beru ma'bakka';

40. benteng polong kanasako,
kanako benteng pakkai',
kai' topena pasikaiki
badjunna.

41. Nai' manaung
tunibarangbaranginnu;
assulu' antama ata
maballa' balla'nu.

42. Numa'djarang,
numattedong,
numa'djangang rassi
lerang;

also run across the beams of
the floor that are made of
the stems of the areca; /184/
pass under the large attic
beam which is provided
with a few upright beams;
walk on to the west (that is,
the high part of the house),
and sit down under the
canopy of your bed against
the smoothed head pole.

Sit down on the round little
mat;

just point out, left and right,
what you desire;

just send off your equals to
run errands; let them
work for you.

Forty young girls will keep
you company;

you will be helped and served
by adolescents;

?

Your pledgees will run back
and forth; your household
slaves will go in and out.

You will possess many horses
and buffaloes, as well as a
coop full of chickens;

/184 cont./

585

539

43. nakatumbangngangi
pole palampang ase
berunu;

you will pile up so much
young rice that the barn
in which it is kept will
collapse; /185/

44. nakatepokangi padongko'
ase toanu .

you will possess so much
old rice that the great
ceiling beam will break
under its weight.

45. Tamanraikko ri Ambong
nukoasa;

You do not travel on Ambon
and yet you are mighty (1);

46. takalaukko ri Djawa,
nukalumannjang;

you do not travel on Java
and yet you are wealthy (1);

1. The meaning is: "you
do not trade, and yet you
are mighty or wealthy."

47. tama'botoroko
numammeta.

you do not gamble, and yet
you win.

48. Assare-saremakko sallang
rimatoang kasi-asi,

You will also help your poor
parents-in-law,

49. appiturrummako pole
riipara' kamase-mase.

you will also give something
to your pitiable brothers-
in-law and sisters-in-law.

50. Nai'tuannu, ssalla'
dasere' dalle'nu.

Your good fortune rises up-
ward between the boards
of the floor.

51. Kuminasaidjakondjo
sunggu; kutindjakkiko
mate'ne;

I hope that you will be
fortunate; I make the vow
that all will go well with
you;

52. nusunggu todjeng
numate'ne todjentodong.

and see, you are really
fortunate and things are
really going well with you.

/185 cont. /

585

539

53. La'bu bannang ri
Djawa, mala'buang
umuru'nu;
54. luara' tamparang,
luarangngang nawa-
nawannu;
55. tinggi Bawakaraeng,
matinggiampa tuannu.
56. Le'ba' gentung timbaonu,
le'ba' tantang pakkalli'nu;
57. timbao nikida-kida,
pakkalli' niura' tallu.
58. Le'ba' basami ba'ra'nu,
le'ba' gusu' langiri'nu;
59. tattannangi pole tjapparu
pa'minnjakkannu.
60. Nutulimo ntama ribili' ka-
mua liku, kamua kallang-
ngang rapa';
61. mannosu' badang;
mannimba' bangkeng
patjiko.

Long is the thread from here
to Java, but even longer
will be the duration of
your life;
wide is the sea, but more
expansive are your thoughts;

high is the mountain the
Bawakaraeng, but even
higher is your good
fortune. /186/

The canopy of your bed has
already been hung, and
the curtain of the bed has
already been drawn;
the canopy is adorned with
golden spangles, and the
curtain is provided with
three strips.

The powder for your face has
already been moistened,
and the water for the wash-
ing of your head is even
now ready for use;
the pot with hair oil, which
is destined for you, stands
even now in readiness.

You will enter a little room
that is pitch dark and seems
like a whirlpool.
you will penetrate a body;
you will open the rim of
the hole.

/186 cont./

- 585 62. Nukana-kanami sallang
539 saraka ripamminanggang;
63. tappau'-pau'mi pole
bungabunga rikatinroannu.
64. Nusipoke-poke genre,
nusita'ba' rappo toa;
65. nusipattoa-toai,
nusipa'loaloai,
nusipattjammo-tjammoi;
66. sitantro takkang
sibuttju' pa' dengka-
dengka.
67. Lino-linopi anging,
pakkeke mappasisa'la'.
68. Numammana'-mana' sarre,
- You will recite the formulas
of the bed;
the flowers in the bed spread
their scent.
You will extend to each
other the folded betel
leaves, and you will throw
ripe areca nuts to each
other;
you will grow old together,
and you will live together
until you are forgetful
and toothless;
until you will give each
other a cane and until
you throw an areca
pounder toward each
other. /187/
Only after everything has
become quiet (when the
wind has died down), will
you be separated by death.
You will get children just
like the sarre plant (1),

[824]

1. Names /sic/ of plants
that are well known for
their many offshoots and
rapid increase.

69. numa'borong unti-djawa, you will form a forest of
of pisang djawa,
70. numattju'la' ase-bakka'. you will have offshoots
just like the rice plant
that is called ase-bakka'.

/187 cont. /

585
539

71. Pinruang tudju,
pintallung tassalapangngi.
72. Manai'ngasemmi maë
Anrongguru ningainu,
Gallarrang nipangngalikinnu,
Kapala nipaemponu,
73. battungasemmi pole
bidjannu pammanakannu,
bella-bella mbani-bani,
tja'di-tja'di lombo-lombo,
ana'-ana' tau toa.
74. Nipanaï'mako
ripangkapangka bulaëng,
75. nipaempomako ritappere'
paramadani.
76. Badji' nangai Na'bi,
napudji Alla Taäla.
77. Sipoko' bu'ne tantaana
dje'ne' matannu;
78. sipoko' tjamba
pammatti'na iloro'nu.
79. Kupattannangngangkonne
anggoro' rigantironu;
80. kupa'lamungangko pole
lemotanning ridolangang,

Two times seven and three
times nine.

They will all come to your
house, your respected
heads, your adat com-
munity heads, for whom
one has respect, and
your kampong heads, who
are gladly welcomed,
all your kinsmen will come
from near and far, big
and small, old and young.

You will be brought to a
golden palace,
and you will be made to
sit on a beautiful carpet.
The Prophet loves you, and
God praises you. / 188/
Just as a berry tree drops its
fruit, so there will be
many tears shed for you;
you will be envied just as a
tamarind tree is envied its
fruit.

I will plant a vine for you
under the outermost lower
edge of your roof;

I will also plant a djeruk
tanning for you in the
middle of the open sea,

/188 cont. /

585
539

81. nakatjinnai Somba,
napammattikang iloro'
Bate-salapang.

which even the Prince himself will covet and for which the mouths of the members of the Royal Council will water.

82. Bunting nilekkakko paleng
tunipalele bellakang;

Now you will really go away, bride (1), you will change houses;

[591
795]

1. Here the one who speaks turns to the bride. It is a custom that after the Moslem marriage ceremony the couple goes to the house of the bridegroom's parents, at least for a few days.

83. niërang ri bori'maraëng,
pa' rasangang nampa
nuondjo'; bori nampa
nula'bakki.

you will be brought to another land, the land which you will enter for the first time; the land toward which you are traveling.

84. Nukamma todong djonga,

You resemble a deer that anxiously peers over the hedge,

85. mattoa' ri sampa'
mangagajangan tunumalo.

which shyly looks at the passersby.

86. Nakana kelonna Daëng bunting bura'nea:

The song of the bridegroom goes:

Nampa' 'lampa
riballakku, nakudjoli
pakkibukku, naku-
gulung tappereëkku kupat-
tantuna, kalengku lamman-
tang puli.

Now I am leaving my house, now /189/ I am locking my ~~door~~ and rolling up my mat, because I am convinced that I shall not return.

● /189 cont./

585 87. Nakana kelonna
539 Daëng bunting bainea:
Takundjunga' sallo lolo,
kurunrung balu baine,
tamammonea', tope
taero'na mmakku.

88. Nakana pole kelonna
Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Ka'de' kutjini' Batara,
kudupai allo-allo, nadjo'
djokangku, lebanga
ripa'maikku.

89. Nakana kelonna Daëng
bunting bainea:
Kade' nania' erokku, tea'
sadju' risa'bea', tea'
salasa ri badju montjong
buloa.

And the song of the bride
goes:

It is not for nothing that I
intentionally remained un-
married for a long time, I
accept no tope whom my
mother does not love.

The song of the bridegroom
again goes:

If I should see God, I
would burn incense for him'
every day since He has
shown me the one whom I
love.

The song of the bride goes:

If I should have a wish,
then it would be: do not
make the silken jacket un-
happy and do not disappoint
the green jacket (1).

1. The jacket here represents
its wearer: a young girl, there-
fore the speaker herself.

90. Nakana pole kelonna
Daëng bunting bura'nea:
Nampako mattju'la' lebong,
nakurompong-rompong
memang lompoko nai',
kutambai pa'rompongku.

And the bridegroom in turn
says:

And if then you grow up
like a young bamboo, then
I will take care that no one
will come near you (2);
when you are fully grown I
shall strengthen my pro-
tection.

585 /189 cont. /
539
[241]

2. Young bamboo shoots are protected against goats and buffaloes.

91. Nakana kelonna Daëng
bunting bainëa:
Apa kitjini' rinakke, nakke
le'leng nakke kodi, nakke
tja'di simbolengku.

And the bride says:
What do you see in me?
I am dark and ugly, and
my hair knot is small. /190/

92. Nakana kelonna Daëng
bunting bura'nea:
Manna le'leng manna kodi,
manna tja'di simbolellu,
titti' matangku,
kala'busang pangngaingku.

And the bridegroom says:
Even though you are swarthy
and even though you are
homely, and even though
your hair knot is small,
you are the apple of my
eye; after you I will love
no other.

93. Nakanatosseng kelonna
Daëng bunting bainëa:
Sikatutuiki' tope, narisassa
mole-mole, taënamonne,
parekanna maloloa.

And the song of the bride
goes again:
Together we shall take
good care of our common
sarong; we shall wash it
repeatedly; my work as a
young girl has now come
to an end.

94. Nai'ngasemmaki' maë.

Come in, all of you (1).

1. Literally, "Come upstairs,
all of you."

The Wedding Ceremony According to Moslem Rite

585

After this address or, in the case where this address is not recited, when the dikir is held up at the foot of the house steps,

585 /190 cont./ the bridegroom goes up the steps and into the house. At the high side of the house in the front room the bridal bed is usually made up. On this the bride is seated with her back turned to the entrance. Behind her the bridegroom takes his place. Immediately after this, the Moslem wedding ceremony (nikka) is performed.

793
585
[115
126] The Imam of the adat community who performed the wedding ceremony here described recorded in Makassarese in detail the points of the ceremony that he considered the most important, after the ceremony had taken place. The translation of his report follows here.

585 'When I was about to marry Rahimi and Sija I asked Rahimi's best man what the name-of the bridegroom was, and Bandong (2) answered: 'the name of the bridegroom is Rahimi.'

2. The best man's name.

"Thereupon I asked: 'What is the name of his father and of his mother?' And then Bandong answered: 'Rahimi's father is called Palu, and his mother is called Sati. Both are still alive; they live in Bontobaddo (3).' /191/

3. Name of a section of kampong Bontoramba.

"Then I further questioned Malla (1): 'What is the name

1. Name of the bride's father.

of the bride?' And Malla answered: 'The name of the bride is Sija; I am her father, her mother is called Sani; she is deceased.'

"Thereupon I again asked Malla: 'What is the amount of the sunrang?' And Malla said: 'Twenty-four reals.'

- 585 /191 cont./ "And I asked further: 'How was the sunrang paid?' And thereupon Malla answered: 'Eight reals in cash and one section of a sawah situated in Bianreng (2) bordering

2. Name of a section of
kampong Bontoramba.

in the north on the sawah of Rapi, in the west on the sawah of Bagenda, in the south on the sawah of Djumadi, and in the east on the sawah of Genda. This sawah was given for an amount of 16 reals.'

"Thereupon I took the bridegroom's thumb in order to conclude the marriage.

"I asked Malla: 'Do you consent to the marriage of these two?' And Malla said: 'It is good.' Three times I asked this.

"After that I performed the ceremony. As witnesses there were Djuma, the guru of Bontoramba, and Massulukang. I held onto the hand of the bridegroom and recited the vow before him: 'Asjhadu anla Ilaaha Illallah wa asjhadu anna [537] Muhammadan Rasulullah (I truthfully testify that there is no other God than Allah ta'ala; and I also testify that the Prophet Mohammed is the messenger of God).'

"Subsequently I said: 'I pronounce you, Rahimi and Sija, the daughter of Malla, man and wife; your sunrang amounts to 24 reals.'

"And Rahimi said: 'I agree to be joined in marriage with Sija. I am paying a sunrang of 24 reals.' Three times he said this.

And the witnesses said: 'We agree.' Thereupon I let go of his hand. Rahimi was then conducted to his wife by Bandong in order to make her fortunate by his touch. The upper arm of Sija was touched by Rahimi.

The kampu was placed before me. It contained: 20 betel leaves, 2 areca nuts, limestone, and by way of wedding money, 8.25 guldens (8. -guldens in paper money and 25 cents). I gave 1. -gulden to each of the witnesses.

- 585 /191 cont./ Thereupon I was asked to come and eat outside in the pannjambungi. "
So much for the Iman's report. /192/

The First Touch

As has already become apparent from the Imam's report, the best man (tau lalangang) takes the bridegroom by the hand immediately after the nikka', and leads him to his bride, who is seated a few meters before him on the ground with her back turned toward him. Here he touches her for the first time in the presence of all kinsmen and guests. Older women have previously talked to him and told him that he must be gentle and friendly with his bride because his luck is dependent upon this in his later life. At the same time they also tell him what is expected of him at the moment of this first touch. The spot where he touches her (arm, neck, cheek, or ear, and so forth) and the way in which he does this (calmly, gently, indifferently, angrily) are considered important in this connection. From this, the older people deduce the young man's feelings with respect to his wife, and at the same time they determine on the basis of this how she will henceforth have to conduct herself toward him, scolding, instructing him further, and so forth.

The Pushing Game

585 This same evening "amèsu" sometimes takes place. This
524 is a "pushing game" (1). The guests sit around in a circle; the

1. B. F. Matthes,
Woordenboek, p. 697.

higher guests sit in front. Within the circle is the couple, likewise seated upon the ground. One of the higher guests knocks on the ground. The couple must push themselves toward him in

585 /192 cont./ a seated position. The one who reaches him first
 524 receives a "pitjuru," a luck-bringing object, sometimes in the
 form of a coin or ornament. However, care is always taken
 that the woman wins. On the other hand, she is not allowed to
 win directly. If she or her husband is very close to the one who
 knocked, another one will knock who is seated at the other side
 of the circle, and then they must again push themselves thither.
 But once the highest guest has knocked upon the ground, no one
 knocks anymore. He does this only when the man does not have
 a chance of getting to him first, so that the bride therefore re-
 ceives the pitjuru from him. "Amèsu" is, therefore, as it were,
 a game in which the young couple compete with each other,
 but whose outcome is already fixed from the outset. It is com-
 [554] pared to a cock fight. It only takes place when there are high
 guests present at the festival. It is pleasant for the person who
 gives the festival if "amèsu" takes place, for that means that
 he had /193/ high guests, and that means that he is in their
 favor. For the young man, this pushing competition is un-
 [522] pleasant because he always loses to his bride, and people open-
 ly make fun of this.

The First Joint Meal

585 The day after the nikka', man and wife for the first time
 "eat" together. Ritual and play are here closely interwoven.
 There is no question of ordinary eating. One of the older women
 takes a handful of rice with coconut oil and sugar, briefly holds
 this above the incense vessel, mumbles a spell over it, and then
 gives this to the young woman to eat. Coconut oil, that is to
 [824] say, fat, is a symbol of wealth; sugar is a symbol of love and
 sweetness. She is told to bring this handful of food momentarily
 to her mouth, and then to offer it to the young husband seated
 next to her. The people around watch to see how he reacts.
 If he opens his mouth quickly, this means that he likes her.
 "Your cock is conquered," the men at that point laughingly

- 585 /193 cont./ comment. But if he hesitates or turns away, he is urged to accept the food. For, ultimately, the older people like nothing better than to see him lose, and it is believed that he loses if he does what his wife demands of him, namely when he accepts food from her.

The First Joint Bath

Again a few days later the couple is bathed together for the first time. Here, too, ritual and play are of more importance than the fact of the bathing itself. Together, the couple sit -- the woman wrapped entirely in a sarong -- on the house steps, which in daily life forms the link with the attic but which for this special occasion has been placed on the floor in the pannjambungi (1). Under the rungs of the ladder lies a cleaver

[342]

[251]

[769]

[417]

1. The attic is an important place in the house. There the rice is kept. In case of shortage of living quarters, the young girls are sometimes housed there. The ancestors descend through it when they are implored to do so in a ritual manner. The ladder to the attic has a special form. The two uprights proceed from a single branch that rests on the floor and which splits into two, approximately 40 centimeters above the floor.

as well as one of the sections of the loom, objects which man and wife respectively always need in performing their daily activities. According to informants, /194/ the significance of this is to further the wish that man and wife will now also

- 585 /194 cont. / become familiar in these common things. The content of twice nine young coconuts are now poured out over them, and the passili ritual is performed on them (1).

1. This bathing festival generally takes place three days after the arrival of the bridegroom in the house of the bride. During almost three times 24 hours, the bridegroom is forbidden to step on the earth outside the house. If he violates this prohibition he is scolded: "Why do you do that? Do we have to become unlucky?"

Thereupon they must "see which of them is the first to have the ground under their feet as they get up from the ladder." Whoever wins will be boss in the house in their marriage. The bridegroom usually runs right across the pannjambungi down the front steps. The bride is quickly carried to her little room where a lump of earth has previously been placed in readiness. It is always declared that the bride has won even though it is practically impossible to ascertain the actual outcome. But nobody is interested in the latter anyway.

After this the couple goes to spend a few days in the bridegroom's house. There festivities again take place, and subsequently they again return to the wife's house.

Being "Good"

Another small family festival takes place there, /in the wife's house/ in conclusion, a week or two after the nikka'. This

- 585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

[482
554]

2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

- [178] The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

585
833 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

585 /195 cont. / is not the issue, but rather the tactfulness in
833 getting the wife to perform the sexual act. They had thus satisfied the wishes of those around them. Their masculine pride
[56] was flattered because they had shown that they were good conquerors of women. This characteristic is particularly prized in Makassarese. A woman always shows herself averse to a man, even to her husband. It is the latter's art to win her for himself through a pleasant outward appearance, a well-chosen word, a strategic touch, and very little physical force. That is how the ladies' man Sawerigading (1) does it.

1. See R. A. Kern,
I La Galigo, p. 333.

581 The art of conquering women that Sawerigading possessed
593 to the highest degree is at most held up as an ideal to the
521 young Makassarese. Even before the wedding ceremony takes place according to Moslem rite, one of the older women conducts a number of conversations with the bridegroom. She talks, and the young man listens. She tells him that it will be difficult for him to make his wife happy, but that his happiness in his future life will be dependent upon this. She also tells him that he must not be rough with her. She asks him whether he knows what he must say to his wife later on and whether he knows what to answer when she asks him something. She tells him what questions he can expect and what his answers should be to them. They do not like to talk about this. I could only obtain a single example of this. "Where do you place me?" (Keremaë nupatinro) was given as an example of such a question, and the answer was supposed to be: "I place you above me" (Irateangkuko) (2).

2. It is possible that the only informant who drew my attention to these questions

521 /195 cont./ and answers owed them to
581 tarekat influence, and that
593 therefore they are not in
general use. Elsewhere,
people denied knowledge of
their existence. Neverthe-
less, a report of these questions
and answers seems to be in
place here.

521 Such a conversation between older woman and bridegroom
585 bears an intimate character; it is regarded as of great im-
portance for the future /196/ life of the bridegroom. The older
one must have the confidence of the younger. The bride
learns the questions and answers from one of her kinsmen,
suitable for this instruction, and if the man and woman con-
cerned are not related to each other, the older people establish
contact concerning this matter in order to be sure that enough
of a connection exists between the questions and the answers.

This conversation conducted in whispers between older and
younger persons is not so intimate that an older man might not
interrupt it with the question, "Are you being examined?"
And there is general laughter. All the older people know what
[831] the two are discussing there. The instruction given to the
young man is not so serious that an obscene remark could not
be interjected.

585 Frequently as soon as the evening following the nikka',
833 when the guests have already returned to their houses, the
bridegroom is taken by the older aunt to the partitioned-off
shed where his bride is. The old women are still awake at
this time. Some of them urge him to enter. They call him
"my cock." Others try to hold him back from it, but this is
mere make-believe. In so doing they are holding on to the
idea that they must protect the young girl, as is the case in

585 /196 cont./ ordinary life. In reality, however, they all
833 hope that bridegroom and bride will be "good" with each other
as soon as possible, that is to say, that coitus will take place.
The old women listen at the walls.

If the young man expressly refuses to enter and join his
wife, the older people rest satisfied, at least for the time being.
[626] But they show their disapproval and renew, possibly even the
following evening, their attempts to make him go in. The
same situation obtains if the bride resists once the bridegroom
has been led in to her. If she knocks violently on the door,
she is let out.

The older people talk to the marriage partner who seems
585 to refuse sexual contact with the other. They point out that in
833 previous marriages young married couples again and again
626 submitted to what is now demanded of him (her). The bride
is told in such a case that all women have at one time under-
gone this experience, that her mother was also married in this
way. The end of the conversation frequently consists of the
questions so difficult for younger people to answer: "Surely
you don't want to make your aunt (that is, the speaker) ashamed?"
(namely, by sticking to the refusal /197/ and thus causing
to fail the marriage that she is trying to bring about). To
[888] contradict an older and sometimes at the same time a higher
576 person is discourteous. The individual who does not wish to
capitulate in such a situation can do nothing but remain silent.

Because of the strictly maintained separation of the sexes,
834 young unmarried men and women live in separate worlds.
585 When they are brought together, it is to be expected that it
521 will be difficult for them to talk to each other. Whatever
they have learned and applied up to that point is no longer of
any use. The prepared questions and answers thus serve, one
could say, to facilitate the very first contact. Formally,
they are an element of the ritual to bring man and wife to-
gether and to get them used to the fact that now other forms
of social intercourse obtain between them than before. In

834

- 585 /197 cont./ content, they have the purpose of teaching the
521 parties the attitude which they must adopt toward each other.

834

585 who clearly demonstrates her aversion to her husband, with
186 the happy, beaming Dutch bride who looks up to her bride-
groom with full confidence, it is clear that every opportunity
for misunderstandings is present. Then the criticism of an old
Makassarese who had attended the wedding reception of a
Dutch couple and had seen how man and wife finally were
driven off together in a car amidst the cheers of the reception
guests becomes comprehensible. In all these expressions on
the part of the woman, he merely saw a display of her feelings
of desire for her husband, and he found this quite indecent.

The fact of their leaving together signified to him that
there was nothing more to prevent this man from giving in to
his sexual desires. From the bride's conduct it seemed to him
all too clear that the bridegroom would not have to make any
effort to gain the bride for himself. The effort, tact, and
considerateness displayed on this occasion are, to the
Makassarese, the essence of the relationship between man
and wife. Based on what he observed, this old man could
only conclude that what was most important for him, was
lacking among the Dutch.

177

585 Now the difficulties which arose at /198/ the marriage of
a young Makassarese man of high nobility to a girl from one
of the prominent Makassarese Indo-European families also
become understandable. In her house the atmosphere, dress,
and so forth was to be European, and in his house it was to be
Makassarese. This had been agreed upon beforehand by both
families. In her house, therefore, the bridegroom was dressed
in a tuxedo, and she was dressed in white with a short train.
He was the gay, energetic bridegroom, and she the radiant

177 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white
585 carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the head-dress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

554 A request by the religious official or by someone with
565 karaeng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can
584 be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

582 /200 cont./ child marriage this means merely that a child marriage does not necessarily have any particularly bad consequences.

Refusal of Sexual Union in Marriage

586 We have only spoken above of a marriage where the prescribed Moslem rite has taken place. In the same way, we shall now mean by divorce the separation of the marriage partners according to the rules of Moslem dogma. However, only a certain aspect of the Makassarese ideas concerning these subjects is reproduced by this.

● 585 At the wedding feast, the elders concentrate their efforts upon the bringing about of sexual union between man and wife. Not until this has taken place, is it really believed to have been brought about.

593 After some time it appears that in a number of these marriages the partners nonetheless are not "good," that is to say, that they do not have sexual intercourse. In the present-day stage of observation, however, this comes to light only if they do not live together for extended periods, and avoid each other. This state of affairs may last until the death of one of them. Only in a few cases, generally if one of the two [587] wants to remarry, does divorce according to 201/ to Moslem law take place. This is not much more than a formality which legalizes an already existing situation. The "being good" of man and wife constitutes the center of Makassarese married life. The difficulties seem to lie there.

833 Only after the normal festivities have been concluded can it become apparent whether the goal has been reached or not. The pabadjikan ritual in itself provides no guarantee that sexual intercourse of man and wife has actually occurred. It is possible that the young man or woman goes through the entire wedding festival in the customary fashion, that is, more or less tacitly, but continues to refuse the sex act and

833 /201 cont./ someone who does not want him to contract this marriage. Sometimes it is also believed that the ritual was not performed in the correct manner. Even where a man specifies his own choice and where the appearance of the other one /the spouse/ does not please him, it is believed possible to sway by means of spells and ritual the one who refuses sexual intercourse, so that the negative attitude will be abandoned. These attempts are continued for years after the contracting of the marriage. Favorable results of these attempts will be reported. Thus it appeared that shortly after such a ritual, carried out almost three years after marriage, a sudden reversal in the young woman's attitude became noticeable. Previously she had always withdrawn upon the arrival /202/ of her husband and had ignored him. Then all of a sudden she had thrown a bath sarong in his direction, and after this first sign of rapprochement, the relationship had soon become completely normal.

585
833 In order to join a couple that was not "good" together, the ex-Imam married them again. This is called "marrying again" (nikka' poleang). It is believed that in the original marriage ceremony a mistake was made, that is to say, that a formula was incorrectly recited or a ritual action neglected. As a result of this mistake, it is thought, the marriage had never been able to become completely successful, and a repetition of the marriage contract will be able to avoid this error. This marrying again which is sometimes called a "remedy" (paballe') is of no significance according to Moslem law. It is not recorded in the marriage registers. No further festivities take place upon this occasion. Even the sunrang is not paid again; only the nikka' is repeated (1). I was

1. The one who performed these wedding ceremonies was the ex-Imam of the adat community. Thus he is

585 /202 cont./
833

thought to be acquainted with the formulas that are correct in the Moslem view. It is possible that this is a local development. Elsewhere in South Celebes I did not hear of such marrying again.

able to record three cases of this. All three took place from one to three years after the first wedding ceremony; and in all of them the couple shortly thereafter was "good" together.

833 It is believed that the individual himself is not responsible for his unwillingness. Therefore, nobody is angry at him.

[602] If the young man is unwilling, his wife's kinsmen are not angry at him. They receive him in a friendly manner when he comes to visit at their house. His wife remains shy and [593] withdrawn toward him, just as every young woman is toward her husband. She is not angry either, nor does she feel insulted by his refusal.

593 The man, too, is not angry. He sometimes brings something for his wife which she can use in the household, as is 626 customary between man and wife and as he would do if they 833 were "good" together. Frequently, he spends the night at a married brother's or sister's house, by preference not in that of his parents, because the latter very clearly show him that he should not sleep in their house but with his wife. A certain amount of pressure is therefore exerted upon him. "People who act like that have a short life," it is said.

In case the wife refuses, there is a similar situation./203/. She is similarly told that women in such circumstances do not live long. "If a woman continues to refuse her husband, her bier will creak" (1). Her husband is not angry at her, nor [761]

- 582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
● 585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a
favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tēna
nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'),
used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the
same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

[731] It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country
will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy
will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one
accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed
salimara'.

684 The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old
lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch
the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[612] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the
banishment of the couple for a few years to different places
outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law
had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs;
the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's
sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

- 684 1. This is a direct conse-
692 quence of the fact that
under the influence of the
administration these offenses
were always very lightly

/250 cont. /

Marriage Registers

114
217
● 585 In the columns of the marriage registers are found in order: the bridegroom's name, his estimated age, the kampong of his residence; his father's and mother's name, their place of residence, or else the fact that they are deceased. The same is entered for the bride. Then follows the name and place of residence of the wali and his kin relationship to the wife, or else the fact that the wali haking functioned; the date of the marriage ceremony, the formula of the talak al takli' (Makassarese: djandji tala'); the amount of the bride price (sunrang); the fact that the sunrang was paid or else borrowed, what part was paid in money and what part in exactly defined goods; a fingerprint of the bride's thumb or of her father's in case the latter is still alive; the name of the marriage official and of the witnesses, and finally a column of remarks.

In Borongloë, marriages by flight are registered along with the ordinary, or festive marriages. This is to say, therefore, that in general marriages of fleeing couples from elsewhere are registered in Borongloë, and that marriages of fleeing couples native to Borongloë are recorded elsewhere. The tendency to flee to Macassar seems to be greater than the other way around. In Macassar, some imams have special registers to record marriages by flight. Only after a certain length of time has elapsed does the couple return home. The total number of marriages registered in Borongloë is therefore not the same as the number of married couples.

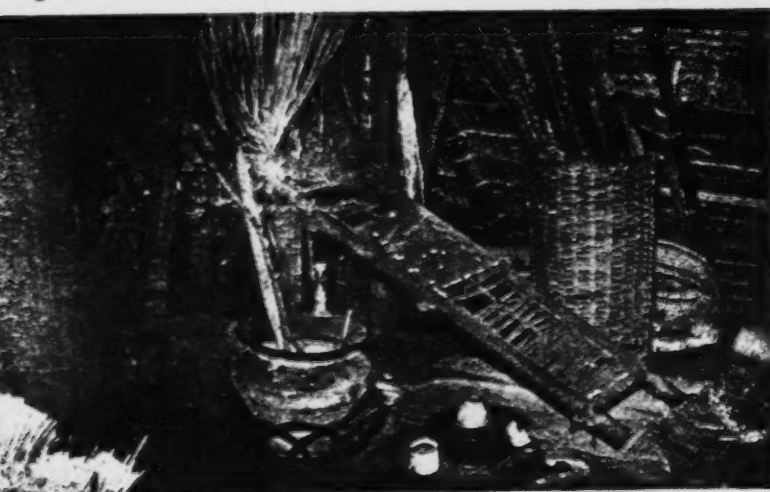
In the case of marriage by flight, the sunrang always amounts to 20 reals. In view of the fact that otherwise the sunrang is an index, the number of marriages with 20 reals is in itself not indicative of status conditions.

The age of the marrying couples must be treated with caution, as was already remarked in the discussion of child marriage.



585 ●
602
291
361
482

A cousin (samposikali) of the bridegroom carries the kampu (left in the photograph) with the bride price to the house of the bride. Page 115.



769
778
352
415

The little ancestral house (pantasa) in the attic, with ingredients for the ritual. Page 86.

[END "plate 3"]

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)



585 ●
292
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142

The Imam of Borongloë (center) marries the bridegroom (right); to the left in the foreground is the father of the bride; to the right in the background the back of the bride can be seen. Pages 259-260.



292
585
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Bride and bridegroom amidst the women and children waiting for their first joint "meal." Page 263.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 5]

● 585
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415
824



During the festive meal in the pannjambungi, the men sit in rows according to their prestige. Pages 195-196 and 243. In the foreground one can see, among other things, the coconuts, whose contents will be poured over the bridal couple at their first common bath. Page 265.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 6]

Bali OF5
Makassar OG6 ●
Ngadju OC9
Buru OH8

BI [273 cont.]

585 because the blood relatives of the one abducted would then have the right to kill him.

● MK
585
583 The abduction of a girl against her will is found only on this island; everywhere else the merangkat type prevails. For example, actual abduction occurs among the Makassarese. The abductor only has to hurry to the sovereign to obtain ratification or to have the marriage blessed by a priest for a payment of four reals = eight guilders, and furthermore to take the bride price to her [274] parents. He must see to it, however, that this is done in time, because the family of the girl has the right to kill him as long as this is not paid, at least if he is of the same rank or especially if he is inferior.

● NK
585
583 Abduction also occurs among the Dajak in the southeastern division. If a young man has obtained the consent of his parents to enter a marriage but is afraid of receiving a negative answer from the relatives of his beloved, he abducts her and then enters into negotiations over the bride price with the parents of the girl.

Among the inhabitants of the Ambonese islands, every marriage is preceded by an abduction. This is called lari-bini, "to run off with a woman," and involves the young daughter following the man voluntarily or running after him and going into hiding with him. The abductor must leave the bride price behind in the bedstead of his beloved to appease the wrath of her relatives. A few days later he visits the house of her parents to ask their pardon, and this concludes all the formalities. In contrast with the lari-bini, there is the minta-bini = to ask a woman, which, however, concerns only the daughters of regents and other prominent persons. Abduction is not an uncommon form of marriage among the Alfoer of Buru. If one is certain of the girl's affection, it is customary for him to abduct her and to hide with her in the forest, during which time the bride price is negotiated.

● Bu
583 When this is settled, the young people return and the marriage is concluded in the ordinary way. Abduction also occurs among some Papuan tribes, for example, those of the southwest coast.

● NG
583 When the young man has come to an agreement with a girl, they flee together into the forest. Both sets of parents then

New Guinea 0J1
 Makassar 066
 Atjehnese 0D4

NG
 585 [288 cont.]

513 out of fear of evil spirits [289] or bad dreams. Likewise among
 776 the Makassarese intercourse is not allowed immediately after the
 M marriage celebration. Prominent islanders often postpone this for
 585 a month. This period is spent on all kinds of performances, of
 which the principal and most repeated one is "the sliding party,"
 as Mr. Matthes calls it. The bridegroom pursues the bride by
 dragging himself over the floor, but when he wants to make love
 to her, she pushes him away with her fan. The woman has to
 demonstrate by all her actions that she hates the man, for instance,
 by pretending that she has no appetite in his presence, by not
 granting him a single glance, and by looking neither right nor
 left but only straight ahead, until she finally gives in and offers
 him a betel quid, which is as good as having spoken to him.

A Among the Atjehnese the newlyweds may not have inter-
 585 course until seven nights after the marriage celebration. Both of
 834 them sleep in the same room, but it is brightly lighted and they
 are far from each other, and furthermore they are watched by a
 crowd of old women (1). The Mentawai Islanders are even stricter

1. Kruyt, Atjeh en de Atjehers, p. 193.

about this matter. After the marriage celebration, the young
 husband must stay away from his wife and far from her place of
 residence for 180 days. After he returns, there will be a three-
 day feast, and only after that will he be permitted to join his
 spouse (2). I shall not discuss the significance of this peculiar

2. Tijdschrift v. Ind. T.L. en Vk.,
 Vol. XXVI, pp. 92 and 93.

custom any further. In my essay, "over de primitieve vormen van
 het huwelijk [On the primitive forms of marriage]," I have dis-
 cussed this in connection with other marriage customs, particular-
 ly in connection with abduction.

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea
more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned
with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little at-
tention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in
the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the com-
mon man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones
described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-
stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place
even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what hap-
pens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must
take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my
way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more
like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the
village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo kil-
lings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date
771 in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small,
184 playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are be-
lieved to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a
Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic
poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, how-
ever, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is
a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew
about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so
this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for
God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs,
the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and
stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked
if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in
these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this
still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar busi-
ness and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep re-
search, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state
officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times
they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to
the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus
I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line,
and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a
lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was
probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all
on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not
present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At
the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and
his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They
said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman
of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from
former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-com-
mittal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also
said that they no longer have the custom of using money to
get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do
defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple
is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part
of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They
still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest
official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger
tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--
Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day
the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it
was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery
with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of
old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic,
mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In
addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

Makassar 066

Toradja 0811

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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562 heard that the club members just sewed, and they laughed,
575 saying that it was so. But, said Andi, many people do not
like the club. He started to say, for instance, and then stop-
ped; this I think was because he was about to say something
about the Arumpone, and was scared to do it. He did say that
582 there are no women in politics at all in this area. As for the
888 control of marriage by the elders, he said that is virtually
583 absolute and so far there is little, if any, rebellion against
this system. The elders merely choose, and this goes even
for the second marriage. Also, the price is the same for the
611 second wife as for the first. Regarding matters of the
114 patrilineal and matrilineal systems, Andi simply cannot com-
174 prehend what I say. My opinion is that the situation here is
591 something like what it is in Atjeh. The system was probably
matrilineal formerly, but with Mohammedanism and other
things the system changed. Friedericy includes some in-
formation on the seventeenth century radja here who would no
longer allow the children to belong to the mother. The matri-
local custom of residence here is a survival, and perhaps the
system of in-between classes, and perhaps also the tawa-ana.
829 They do not know what the sex ratio is here, and there are
123 no ideas regarding a proper ratio. They seem to think that
they would prefer more women than men. I gave a lecture on
the matter of a sex ratio and they were interested. As for
586 divorce and widowhood, this is really interesting. They said
842 that a woman might not ask for a divorce, but could make
trouble until the man asked for it. They agreed that barrenness
is a cause for divorce but only the teacher knew this. Evi-
587 dently it is seldom the case, if ever. As for remarriage, they
• 585 must wait one hundred days. But seldom do widows or di-
831 vorcées remarry, as men, even though marrying for a second
time, and so on, are ashamed to take anything except a virgin.
It happens, but men do not like it. This is the reason (and
not the census reason) for the great number of unmarried
women here. There are many unmarried women in Watum-
586 pone, and evidently they are rather fair game. But a widower
or divorcé nearly always remarries, as there is no trouble.
Children may choose which parent they want to follow. The
property is evidently divided, although they are unclear on
this matter. As for the relations between such families, they
are said to be all right. Andi gave an instance in his own
family where there was no anger or ill feeling. They empha-
sized that there were lots and lots of divorces.
842 As for children, they said they like to have as many as
611 possible. They like girls as well as boys. The guru agrees that
perhaps there was some favoring of boys. And there is a

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army
post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen to-
gether. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that
even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare
at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any re-
sistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quali-
ty of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together.
There is no dancing together. There are no pantun con-
tests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though
possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in pri-
vate. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might
be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry
her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not
virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may
get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is empha-
sized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There
are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc. ?)
in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

• 585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's
house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house,
then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the
man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of
matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with
Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tenden-
cy toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The
man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs
to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although
all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not
leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They
said that they go to other places and often lie about their past